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PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Possible ways and means of facilitating the peaceful and constructive solution of problems involving minorities

ADDENDUM

Second progress report submitted by Mr. Asbjorn Eide

Replies of the Government of Yugoslavia to the questionnaire

GE.92-12691/4649B

REPLIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE ANNEXED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S NOTE No. G/SO 234 (19-2) OF 25 JANUARY 1991

I. The following settled minorities exist according to the 1981 census in Yugoslavia*

Nationalities of Yugoslavia:		
Albanians	1 730 364	7.7
Bulgarians	36 189	-0.2
Czechs	19 625	-0.2
Hungarians	426 866	1.9
Italians	15 132	-0.1
Romanians	54 954	+0.2
Ruthenians	23 285	0.1
Slovaks	80 334	-0.4
Turks	101 191	-0.5
Ukrainians	18 813	-0.1
Total	2 500 753	11.1
Ethnic groups:		
Romanies	168 099	0.8
Vlachs	32 063	+0.1
Undeclared:	1 219 045	5.4
Others (less than 0.05)	63 998	0.3
Unknown	200 031	0.9

II. They are recognized as separate nationalities and ethnic groups, both legally and politically, in the Constitutions of the Federation, the Republics, Autonomous Provinces and the Statutes of local communities where they live. There are neither legal nor political obstacles.

III. According to the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia:

In the Basic Principles of the Constitution, which represent the ideological and political programme for the normative section of this document and general sociopolitical and self-management regulation of social relations in Yugoslavia, Chapter I states that the working people and nations and

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* In preparing the reply the Yugoslav Government used the official data of the 1981 popular census since the 1991 census data have not yet been processed and analysed.

nationalities shall enjoy sovereign, i.e. inalienable rights in socialist, federal Yugoslavia, as a common state and self-managing community. They shall exercise their sovereign rights directly, in their socialist republics, and in a specified manner in the autonomous provinces - in accordance with their constitutional status, while doing so in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only when provided for in the federal constitution as being in the common interest. The federal constitution is a social compact of the republics and provinces, so that it stands to reason that their own constitutions may not run counter to the federal constitution.

In the normative section of the Constitution, these principles have been translated into legal norms, obligatory rules or behaviours, and into freedoms, rights and duties which are mutually contingent.

The status of nationalities as social groups is defined in greater detail in Parts I, III and IV of the Constitution. The provisions of Part III: "Relations in the Federation and the Rights and Duties of the Federation" are of particular importance:

1. The basic principle of the equal rights of nationalities in Yugoslavia is set forth in article 245 of the Constitution. It states that the nations and nationalities shall enjoy equal rights. The character of this equality is spelled out in other articles of the Constitution.

Other principles are derived from this basic principle, determining the content, scope and nature of exercising these equal rights.

2. The Constitution specifically defines the character of the sociopolitical communities in which the national minorities exercise their equal rights:

Yugoslavia is a federal state of voluntarily united nations and their socialist republics, and the socialist autonomous provinces forming part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, 1/ and is at the same time a socialist self-management democratic community of working people and citizens and of nations and nationalities enjoying equal rights (art. 1).

The socialist republic is also a state, founded on the sovereignty of the people and power vested in the working class and all working people, but it is also a socialist self-managing democratic community of working people and citizens and equal nations and nationalities (art. 3).

The socialist autonomous province is an autonomous socialist self-managing democratic sociopolitical community. It does not have the capacity of a state. In the province, among other things, the nations and national minorities exercise their sovereign (inalienable) rights, including the right to an individual identity and equality, unless explicitly stated that such rights are exercised in the common interest in the republic (art. 4). 2/

The national minorities exercise their sovereign rights primarily in the commune, as the basic self-managing sociopolitical community. In the commune, following decentralization of public affairs and government control, direct and wide-ranging opportunities have become available for the nations and

nationalities to avail themselves of their equal rights (arts. 117 and 248). In a large number of communes, and particularly in local communities, members of minorities often are able, because they make up the majority of the inhabitants and even provide the majority of delegates to government and self-management bodies, to wield decisive influence in decision-making both on issues regarding their own status and needs and on the development of the same commune and sociopolitical communities at a higher level. Accordingly, the functions of the commune and the rights and duties of its organs are of vital importance in the exercise by national minorities of their rights.

3. The Constitution guarantees each nationality the sovereign right to use its own language and script freely, to observe its own customs and set up organizations for this purpose, and to enjoy other constitutionally guaranteed rights (art. 247). In the system of extensively developed self-management relations, nationalities and their representatives are in a position to decide directly on how much and in what way they will exercise this right.

4. The nationalities together with the nations of Yugoslavia, exercise their equal rights, national freedom, independence and other prerogatives in Yugoslavia, as their own country and sociopolitical self-managing community (art. 244). They are also on an equal footing with the nations of Yugoslavia in exercising their inalienable rights and duty to protect and defend their independence and the social order which guarantees them their status (art. 237).

The Yugoslav armed forces are the common armed force of all the nations and nationalities (art. 240). Accordingly, the Constitution explicitly provides for the principle of proportional representation of the republics and provinces, or in other words members of the nations and nationalities, in the officer corps and promotion to senior command in the Yugoslav People's Army (art. 242). This means that officers will be recruited from the ranks of the nationalities as well as from the nations. This principle is particularly affective in the organization of territorial defence and social self-protection within the republics, provinces and communes (art. 239).

5. The Constitution contains explicit special guarantees for the equal use of the languages and scripts of the nations and nationalities (art. 246), spelling out the character, scope and manner of implementing the equal status of the languages of the nationalities with that of the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia, while also imposing certain restrictions in this regard;

In Yugoslavia there is no one single official language. The languages and scripts of the nations of Yugoslavia (Serbo-Croatian, or Croato-Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian), and Latin and Cyrillic scripts are equal in official use, while the languages of the national minorities are officially used under certain circumstances, as envisaged by the Constitution and federal legislation (art. 248). At the federal level, federal legislation and other legal enactments - the rules of order of the Federal Assembly and its bodies and other regulations - determine the way in which this principle will be applied in the work of federal organs and organizations and lay down the uniform rules for its implementation. The application of this general principle is spelled out according to specific circumstances in the constitutions of the republics and provinces.

It is explicitly stated that sociopolitical communities (the republic, province, commune and municipality), as well as organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities must include provisions in their enactments (laws, statutes and other self-management and general enactments guaranteeing the conditions and regulating the manner of the equal use of the languages and scripts of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in official use in areas populated by several nationalities (art. 246).

It is also stated that the equality of the languages and scripts of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia shall be observed in the Yugoslav armed forces, in conformity with the Constitution, and in the regular army one of the languages may be used for orders and basic training, while in sections of the army the languages of the nationalities may be used in accordance with federal legislation (art. 243); this provision is spelled out in legislation and other republican or provincial regulations as regards territorial defence (art. 239).

Federal laws and other regulations and general enactments are adopted and promulgated in the Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in their entirety, in the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia and are also published as authentic texts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian nationalities (art. 269), as their members live in several republics and provinces. The use of the languages of other nationalities is regulated by each republic and province individually.

The equality of the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia is observed in international communications as is by the same token the equality of languages of the nationalities, but international treaties are only concluded in the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia (art. 271).

6. The Constitution also guarantees, albeit indirectly, the conditions for accelerated economic growth of underdeveloped regions, including those where members of nationalities live in large numbers, for the purpose of reducing disparities in levels of development through the concerted efforts of the entire country. This is done in two ways: (a) through the operation of the Federal Fund for crediting the accelerated development of the economically underdeveloped republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia, and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, where Albanians make up the vast majority of the population, as the largest but at the same time most underdeveloped national minority in Yugoslavia, as well as through other measures; (b) by additional grants-in-aid from the federal government on terms established by federal law, to finance social and other services in the republic, or province, if it is not able because of a low level of economic development to finance their normal functioning (arts. 258 and 281).

7. In a direct or indirect way the Constitution makes provision for the exercise by nationalities of their equal rights in the operation of federal agencies and organizations by defining their competences and method of work and by guaranteeing inclusion of members of nationalities in these bodies, on the principle of proportional representation.

Both chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are formed on the principle of equal representation of the republics and proportional representation of the provinces (30 and 20 delegates respectively in the Federal Chamber, and 12 and 8 delegates respectively in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces (arts. 291 and 292)). The working bodies of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces are set up according to the same principle (art. 297). 3/

In the appointment of members of the Federal Executive Council and other federal officials heading federal administrative agencies and organizations, attention must be given to assuring the proper national representation (art. 348).

When a bill is tabled in the Federal Chamber or when some other matter of general interest affecting the equal rights of nations and nationalities is on its agenda, a special procedure for the debate and voting as specified in the rules of order of the Federal Chamber may be followed at the request of the majority of delegates from a republic of autonomous province (art. 249).

A special procedure is to be followed in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces when it takes decisions requiring the approval of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces: voting is carried out by delegations. If agreement is not reached, a law introducing interim measures is to be adopted (arts. 298-304).

Each delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, or 10 delegates in the Federal Chamber, has the right to call for a debate on certain political questions (art. 305).

In its work, the Federal Executive Council also observes the principle of consensus of competent republican and provincial organs and follows the procedure laid down by the Constitution (arts. 354-357).

8. The protection of constitutionally guaranteed rights of the nationalities and the conditions and manner of their exercise have been provided for either directly in the Constitution or in federal statutes based on it.

This protection is above all extended by the uniform system of safeguards of constitutionality and the rule of law. This protection is the responsibility of constitutional, regular and other courts of justice; and of the government authorities of sociopolitical communities, the competent organs of organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities, and other holders of self-management, public and other office. As all citizens are entitled to initiate proceedings and make recommendations, the members of minority groups may also avail themselves of these rights in protecting their rights (arts. 204 and 205).

This protection is further ensured by the principle that republican and provincial constitutions must be in conformity with the federal Constitution, and that all laws and other regulations and general enactments passed by

sociopolitical communities, including the federal government, as well as all self-management general enactments, must be in conformity with the Constitution or federal law (arts. 206 and 207).

By the same token, all individual enactments and measures taken by administrative and other government agencies in charge of executive and administrative affairs, as well as individual enactments adopted by organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities which adopt such acts in the performance of public powers, must be based on statutory law or other regulations (art. 212).

Of special note is the protection of minority rights accorded under the Criminal Code. The topic of protection is the constitutionally established social order, based, among other things, on the principles of national equality (art. 1). Propaganda and other activities aimed at inciting or fomenting national, racial or religious intolerance, hatred or dissension between the nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia are punishable by law (art. 119). National, ethnic, racial, religious and other groups are safeguarded against genocide as minorities (arts. 124-128). The equal rights of citizens, their rights and freedoms, are given wide protection from abrogation, bridgement or the granting of privileges to others on the basis of differences of national affiliation (art. 148).

IV. Minority groups do enjoy both cultural and education institutions specifically devoted to meet their needs.

Education in the languages of the nationalities

Opportunities for receiving an education in one's own mother tongue and the educational level of the members of nationalities as compared with the majority population are among the conventional indicators of the position enjoyed by a minority. Literacy and education, in addition to economic development form the basis of overall social development of each nation or national minority. Immediately after the liberation and the establishment of new Yugoslavia, special attention was therefore devoted to raising the educational levels of the nationalities.

(a) Starting levels in education differed greatly from one national minority to another in 1945. Some of them even before the war had a system of four-year elementary schools in their own languages, with satisfactory material facilities and teaching staff so that there was very little illiteracy among them, in fact for some nationalities it was even less than for some of the nations of Yugoslavia. Other minorities had to start from scratch. The school system was rather poor, and some minority groups did not have schools in their own languages (Albanians, Bulgarians, Turks).

The results achieved are summed up in the following table:

Population of Yugoslavia over 10/15 years of age in 1948, 1971 and 1981, by nationality and literacy*

Nationality	Per cent illiterate				
	1948**			1971	1981
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total
Total	25.4	15.4	34.4	15.1	10.4
Albanians	73.7	55.9	92.5	34.9	22.4
Bulgarians	19.9	6.9	33.1	16.3	14.2
Czechs (with Slovaks)	3.0	2.4	3.5		1.6
Hungarians	8.0	6.0	9.6	5.1	4.4
Italians	6.9	4.0	8.7	6.0	4.0
Romanians	17.6	11.2	23.2	14.0	10.5
Ruthenians and Ukrainians	11.3	7.9	14.4	3.0	2.0
Slovaks	4.8	4.2	5.3	2.8	2.4
Turks	63.9	47.5	80.8	31.0	20.2

* Source: K. Jončić, Nationalities (national minorities) in Yugoslavia, circulated at the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE 1990; census reports for 1971 and 1981, Federal Statistical Office. Figures from these three censuses show the nettable progress that has been achieved. In 1981, the age of 15 was taken as the age of completing eight-year elementary school.

** The percentage of illiterates was high even for the nations of Yugoslavia in 1948, although slightly more favourable and showing large variations: Croatians - 14.3, Macedonians - 22.7, Montenegrins - 18.1, Serbs - 22.1, and Slovenians 1.9 per cent. In 1981 only the Bosnian Muslims and Serbs had an illiteracy rate higher than 10 per cent, with 17.5 and 12.3 per cent respectively.

For some nationalities (Czechs, Italians, Hungarians, Slovaks and even Ruthenians and Ukrainians) illiteracy was less than 10 per cent in the early years after the war, better than was the case with the majority of the nations of Yugoslavia.

(b) The development of elementary and secondary education was the next important step to be made. An intensive campaign was conducted coupled with measures to abolish illiteracy in the languages of all the nationalities, and among the more numerous ones, they were matched by measures to promote secondary education. Parallel action focused on extending elementary education from four to eight years, which was equally successful.

The training of teachers was a special problem, particularly in the languages of the nationalities which did not have schools in their vernaculars

before the war. The most difficult situation was related to the Albanians. There were no literate individuals capable of instructing classes in that language.

In the last two decades, systematic efforts have been made to promote the learning of the languages of the community. This means that pupils being taught in their own mother tongue also learn one or two languages of the other nationalities living in the same neighbourhood or commune. This practice is enforced, more or less successfully, as a voluntary option or legal obligation in all the areas inhabited by national minorities.

(c) Higher education in the first decade after the end of the war and liberation was restricted in scope because of the inherited situation and lack of teaching staff. Right from the start efforts were made to build up professional personnel from among the nationalities in the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia, in the republics which they inhabited in large number, as well as of teaching staff, by establishing departments in the languages of nationalities in teachers' colleges and at universities. Later on, the entire curriculum at universities was taught in the vernaculars of the national minorities, mainly of the largest groups (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

Elementary and secondary schools with instruction in the languages of the nationalities

		Elementary schools				Secondary schools			
		Schools	Classes	Pupils	Teachers	Schools	Classes	Pupils	Teachers
Total	(a)	1 246	3 391	169 996	2 380	160	686	27 465	864
	(b)	1 568	15 466	435 763	23 096	274	2 946	85 892	5 260
Albanian	(a)	727	1 721	98 391	1 095	43	171	6 093	151
	(b)	1 205	13 147	385 711	19 525	165	2 437	75 403	3 699
Bulgarian	(a)	95	134	5 467	122	17	99	3 187	92
	(b)	43	147	2 724	224	-	-	-	-
Czech	(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(b)	12	36	590	48	1	3	50	12
Hungarian	(a)	204	803	36 221	617	51	226	11 242	340
	(b)	153	1 276	29 336	1 996	67	348	7 866	1 100
Italian	(a)	30	143	4 102	105	17	80	2 245	111
	(b)	28	131	1 642	237	11	63	692	160
Romanian	(a)	37	89	3 806	81	8	27	930	37
	(b)	31	136	2 294	213	7	19	348	58
Ruthenian-Ukrainian	(a)	13	34	1 503	28	3	12	930	37
	(b)	4	41	798	52	2	10	227	26
Slovak	(a)	55	170	6 961	117	12	50	2 059	82
	(b)	26	244	5 591	336	8	34	689	123
Turkish	(a)	99	290	12 053	211	9	21	856	17
	(b)	64	303	7 002	460	13	32	617	73

Members of nationalities enrolled in institutions of higher education

Nationality	Percentage in population of Yugoslavia		Number of students					
			1963/64 Total		1986/87 Total		per 10 000 population	
	1961	1981					1963	1986
Total SFRY	100	100	159 414	100	342 423	100	86	152
Albanians	4.9	7.7	2 415	1.5	32 184	9.4	26	173
Bulgarians	0.3	0.2	676	0.4	341	0.1	108	94
Czechs	0.2	0.1	199	0.1	131	0.04	58	67
Hungarians	2.7	1.9	2 913	1.8	3 429	1.0	58	80
Italians	0.1	0.1	162	0.1	127	0.04	63	84
Romanians	0.3	0.2	291	0.2	426	0.1	48	78
Ruthenian and Ukrainian	0.2	0.1	269	0.2	351	0.1	70	98
Slovaks	0.5	0.4	413	0.3	557	0.16	48	69
Turks	1.0	0.5	156	0.1	601	0.17	9	59
Romanies	0.2	0.7	-	-	125	0.04	-	7.4

Figures show that there are considerable differences between nationalities at this level of education, too. For some minorities, student participation is at the level of the national average, and for others it was (Bulgarians) or is now (Albanians) higher than the average (in order to make up for the earlier lag and also because of a large number of school-age children). For most other nationalities it is below average for various reasons (lower birth rates, increased number of children from mixed marriages, choice of blue-collar occupations, desire for access to jobs in all parts of the country, etc.). However, there is a growing percentage of students in relation to population numbers, sometimes as much as three times higher. Particularly dramatic has been the development of higher education among the Albanians, once the most backward, who are today mainly being educated in their vernacular. Measures were taken at the same time to raise educational levels through on-the-job training of employed persons. Notable success has also been achieved in this field.

Information media in the minority languages

(a) The press

The information media in minority languages do not have a very long tradition. Prior to the war, a very small number of newspapers and periodicals were published in these languages. The majority of these publications either stopped appearing during the Second World War or placed themselves in the service of the enemy.

At first, there was for the most part only one newspaper per minority group, as a rule appearing once a week. The only dailies were in the Italian

and Hungarian languages. There soon appeared other newspapers and periodicals, for specialized fields. Publications in the languages of nationalities which previously had been unrecognized had to start from scratch, by ensuring the essential technical prerequisites and training staff. Because of high illiteracy, there were hardly any readers among some national minorities, and initial circulations had to be very small. The daily newspaper in the Albanian language, the largest nationality, only appeared in 1958, and for many years had a limited circulation.

As members of the nationalities became better educated, and as they began becoming more involved in public affairs and self-management, the need arose for a greater flow of information in their own languages and a more diverse vernacular press. The number of newspapers and magazines increased, as did their circulations. Unfortunately, no comparable data are available for the years just after the end of the war.

Today the press in the languages of the national minorities is very large and diversified. As a rule, each national minority has its own newspaper, either a daily (in the Albanian, Italian and Hungarian languages) or a weekly (in the languages of the other nationalities). Each also has a newspaper for children and young people, which also serves as additional school reading material. Very often there is also a periodical in each vernacular dealing with current affairs and literature (or else there are separate publications for these subjects). The more advanced and sizeable nationalities, and those living in several republics, have a larger number of newspapers and journals with larger circulations and covering a wider variety of subjects.

Newspapers and periodicals in the languages of the nationalities in 1953 and 1986 1/

Language	Newspapers				Periodicals			
	1953		1986		1953		1986	
	No.	Circ.2/	No.	Circ.	No.	Circ.	No.	Circ.
Albanian	4	528	34	19 756	5	290	14	215
Bulgarian	1	73	3	206	1	24	1	2
Czech and Slovak	5	769	12	803	4	55	6	29
Hungarian	10	7 615	31	15 915	7	422	18	467
Italian	4	1 026	3	1 267	2	45	4	76
Romanian	2	378	7	556	3	47	1	5
Ruthenian and Ukrainian	1	70	8	434	2	17	5	32
Turkish	2	50	7	706	1	37	3	22
Total	29	10 609	115	34 721	13	40	46	370

1/ Source: Statistical Yearbook for 1987, p. 386 and Jončić, op. cit.

2/ Circulation in thousands

Both the number of newspapers and periodicals and especially the size of their circulations have been steadily growing in almost all the minority languages. Expansion has been most remarkable of the press in the languages of the largest nationalities, which did not have any press at all in their own languages before the country's liberation.

The figures provided in the table are not complete, as they refer to newspapers and periodicals which appear strictly in one minority language. In recent years many newspapers have been coming out in bilingual and trilingual editions.

In Vojvodina, there are some 200 dailies, weeklies and periodicals, bulletins and other publications with articles in Serbo-Croatian and various minority languages (specialized newspapers, bulletins and newsletters of sociopolitical and social organizations and associations; factory and school newspapers; periodicals in the fields of science, culture and education; official gazettes of provinces and communes, etc.), all appearing in several hundred thousand copies. Almost half of them contain articles in Serbo-Croatian and one or more minority languages. The situation is similar, although on a smaller scale, in other regions where there is a linguistically mixed population.

(b) Radio and television broadcasting stations

Throughout the postwar period, top priority has been given to promoting the development of radio and TV broadcasting stations in minority languages; to improving their programming and equipment; to training staff and to increasing the number of TV and radio subscribers among the nationalities (greater production of radio and TV sets and credit on easy terms for purchasing them; a relatively low subscription rate, construction of relay stations and new transmitters to increase the range of reception, etc.). The importance of these modern information media has been realized, for not only do they communicate information to citizens rapidly but they also raise the general cultural level of minority members and encourage their participation in public life and self-management, keeping them well informed in their own mother tongue.

Today there is a highly developed network of radio and TV stations broadcasting in all the vernaculars. Many radio stations in communes also have such broadcasts. Members of nationalities have a say in the programming of radio and television broadcasts through their delegates to programme councils and other bodies and through sections for information of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and other self-management bodies.

Republic of Serbia

Radio Belgrade broadcasts daily in the Albanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian languages, and on Sunday morning, Studio B schedules one-hour long broadcasts for Romanies (in Serbo-Croatian and Romany).

Radio Nis, as part of Radio Belgrade, broadcasts programmes in the Bulgarian and Albanian languages.

Belgrade Television has 20 minutes daily each devoted to news and current affairs programmes in the Albanian and Hungarian languages.

Minority language broadcasts of Radio Belgrade and Radio Nis are now being expanded.

AP of Vojvodina

Radio Novi Sad broadcasts news and commentary in five languages (Hungarian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovak and Serbo-Croatian). By way of example, out of a total of 14,164 hours on the air in 1977, there were 5,665 hours of the spoken word: 34.7 per cent in Hungarian, 7.4 per cent in Slovak, 7.3 per cent in Romanian, and 6.1 per cent in Ruthenian. In 1984, 49 hours of broadcasts in these languages, in the same proportions, were being heard every day. Of the total of 368 hours of spoken word programmes a week, 54 per cent in Serbo-Croatian, 24 per cent in Hungarian, 13.3 per cent in Slovak, 5.1 per cent in Romanian and 3 per cent in Ruthenian. In addition, almost all the 20 local and regional radio stations have broadcasts in the languages of the national minorities.

In Vojvodina there were 578,000 radio sets in 1980, an average of one set for every 1.1 household; and by 1984 there was virtually not a family left without a radio.

The Novi Sad TV station also broadcasts more than eight hours of programmes every day in five languages. In 1986 there were 602,000 registered TV sets (only every tenth household does not have a TV set).

In Vojvodina there is good reception of TV and radio broadcasts from Budapest.

AP of Kosovo

The radio and TV broadcasting centre in Priština is one of the most modern in Yugoslavia. It was built from money contributed by all the republics and Vojvodina. Most of its programmes are broadcast in the Albanian language, with some programmes in Serbo-Croatian and Turkish.

There are also another five radio stations in Kosovo in various parts of the province. They are on the air for about 13,000 hours per annum, mostly broadcasting in the Albanian language.

In 1980, there were 121,000 radio subscribers in Kosovo, with one set for every 2.3 households.

The Priština TV station is very well equipped, and annually broadcasts 2,349 hours of its own programmes in three languages. In 1985, there were more than 133,000 TV subscribers in Kosovo, and about 40 per cent of households do not have a TV set.

Republic of Macedonia

Radio Skopje and radio stations in seven communes broadcast news and commentary in the Albanian language, and some also broadcast in the Turkish language. Radio Skopje devotes 2 hours and 15 minutes of broadcasting time a day to programmes in the Albanian and Turkish languages.

The Skopje TV station broadcasts 15 minute programmes in the Albanian and Turkish languages each five times a week.

The Tetovo radio station also broadcasts once a week in the Romany language.

Republic of Croatia

Radio Zagreb and two other radio stations, in Rijeka and Pula, have programmes in the Italian language, and three stations (Osijek, Daruvar and Vukovar) also broadcast in Hungarian, Czech and Slovak.

Since 1979 the Zagreb TV station has been broadcasting short programmes in the languages of the minorities and has a special programme, Panorama 15, in the Italian language, every 15 days.

Republic of Slovenia

The Ljubljana Radio and Television network has a weekly radio programme called Sotočja, which features topics of interest to the Italian and Hungarian languages. The Ljubljana TV station schedules a trilingual broadcast twice a month, Mostovi-Hidak-Ponti. Radio Koper has daily broadcasts (news, educational programmes, etc.) in Italian for 13 hours. Radio Maribor, which has been joined by the Lendava and Murska Sobota radio stations, organizes joint broadcasts in the Hungarian language (one hour six times a week).

The Koper-Capodistria TV station broadcasts seven hours daily in the Italian language for the Italian minority in Slovenia and Croatia (in collaboration with the Zagreb TV station).

In 1983, a special transmitter was erected which now makes it possible for members of the Hungarian nationality to receive television programmes from Budapest.

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Radio Sarajevo has spoken word programmes in the Albanian language, and Radio Banja Luka in the Ukrainian language.

Republic of Montenegro

Radio Titograd broadcasts a programme in the Albanian as well as in the Serbo-Croatian language.

Well-functioning collaboration among the radio and TV stations within Yugoslavia makes for the better mutual acquaintance of the nations and nationalities and the exchange of cultural values through broadcasts of translated programmes.

Publishing activities in minority languages

Throughout the entire postwar period, considerable attention has been devoted to promoting publishing activities in the minority languages. Unfortunately, no official statistics were kept in the first decade after the war on this activity, so that full information is not available.

Publishing houses print original texts or translations of works in a number of fields: literature, textbooks and school reading material, current events, political science, and academic and professional subjects.

The federal government and the governments of the republics and provinces as well as some communes and work orgnizations, provide financial assistance for this activity (the Federal Fund and the funds of the republics and provinces have already been discussed).

In view of the lack of complete statistics for the entire country, we shall present some of the results achieved in the first 15 years after the end of the war in Vojvodina and Kosovo, as publications in these two provinces according to some estimates accounted for between 80 and 90 per cent of total publishing activities in the languages of the nationalities.

In Vojvodina, in the years between 1945 and 1957, 644 titles in the Hungarian language were published in 1,612,536 copies; 196 titles in Slovak in 419,000 copies, 212 titles (together with 75 textbooks) in the Ruthenian language.

Between 1959 and 1962, 197 titles (without textbooks) were published in Hungarian in 907,900 copies; there were also 19 titles published in the Slovak language (without textbooks), some original works by Slovaks, and 30 translations.

In Kosovo, during the 1945-1962 period, 1,026 titles were published in the Albanian language (441 textbooks), in 6,680,000 copies.

After 1962, this activity was financed by the republics and provinces. It has been undergoing steady growth, as can be seen from the figures for the last 11 years in the following table:

Published books and pamphlets between 1976 and 1986

Language	1976-1980		1981-1983		1984-1986	
	titles	no.	titles	no.	titles	no.
Albanian	1 683	12 217	1 083	6 744	1 032	6 113
Bulgarian	26	42	4	45	3	3
Czech and Slovak	176	292	135	112	133	188
Hungarian	687	2 389	456	1 761	500	1 452
Italian	131	234	48	143	72	193
Romanian	170	224	184	169	157	120
Ruthenian and Ukrainian	139	219	133	193	78	115
Turkish	115	202	59	96	81	152

Note: The poorest results were achieved in 1976, just 198 titles in 1,361,000 copies. By 1977 this amount had grown to 428 titles in more than 2.5 million copies, and this rate was maintained, with an average of between 350 and 400 titles published every year, although there was a decline in 1980 to 273 titles in about 2.5 million copies. A marked decrease in publishing activity was noted between 1981 and 1986 because of the economic difficulties being experienced in Yugoslav publishing in general (in 1986 there were just 293 titles in 1.5 million copies).

The cultural life of the national minorities

The cultural life of the nationalities has been advancing on several fronts, and on the whole it has made remarkable progress. In this domain, too, the different national minorities started off at different levels. Only some (Italians and Hungarians) had a developed cultural life before the war, at the level of the more advanced Yugoslav nations, although the same could not be said of all strata (for instance the rural Hungarians), and yet other minority groups had been completely prevented from developing their own ethnic cultures (Albanians, Bulgarians, Turks), or only had a modicum of traditional folklore. The policy of discrimination against minorities in pre-war Yugoslavia meant that no funds were available for financing cultural activities of the minorities and caused them to become culturally isolated within their own ethnic group, maintaining archaic folk traditions. The level of cultural development often varied considerably between the town and countryside, between the educated classes and the workers and other indigent stata.

After the end of the war, new Yugoslavia set about promoting all forms of contemporary cultural life for all the strata of the national minorities to make room for the broadest possible rapprochement among the cultures of all

the nations and nationalities of the country in addition to achieving international recognition of them. At the same time, each nationality would be allowed to maintain cultural links with its own ethnic mother nation.

Efforts were made, on the principles of solidarity, to improve facilities for cultural development. Institutions were set up and buildings constructed for professional cultural activities: cultural centres, adult education centres, libraries and reading rooms, cinemas, theatres, etc. which were furnished with up-to-date audio-visual and other equipment. Assistance has also been given to amateur educational, cultural and artistic groups and societies, which are either self-standing or sections within general societies.

The results achieved cannot always be expressed in figures, especially as the members of some minority groups live dispersed among the members of the Yugoslav nations or other nationalities. The successes can, however, be indirectly gauged from the overall results achieved in the course of the last 35 years, or by comparing the development of the communes where members of nationalities live, especially those which had been very backward, with the more developed communities.

Literary creativeness in the languages of the nationalities, especially of the larger and more advanced groups, is continually on the rise. The number of original literary works in the languages of the national minorities is growing, and efforts are being made to translate the best works into other languages to make them accessible to the widest possible readership. However, not enough has been done to encourage translations from minority languages into the major languages of Yugoslavia.

The quality of translations has been improved greatly, of literary works and also of current affairs commentary, technical and other works.

Professional and amateur theatricals for adults and children are also becoming more popular. Repertory groups go on tour, presenting plays in other localities, especially in working class communities, thus making the theatre accessible to a much wider segment of the public.

In Vojvodina, of 6 professional theatres (as of 1985/86) 2 present plays in the Hungarian language (at Novi Sad and Subotita). Of 35 amateur theatres (as of 1985/86), 9 are Hungarian, 5 Slovak, 6 Romanian and 3 Ruthenian. There are also 184 cultural societies, the majority of them pursuing their activities in several languages and according to several ethnic traditions.

In Macedonia, a theatre of nationalities has been open in Skopje for 30 years now, presenting plays in the Albanian and Turkish languages. It puts on as many as 200 performances a year. As of 1981, it had put on 300 premieres (30 works by domestic authors), played to audiences totalling 3 million people. Special attention is devoted to cultural amateurism. In 28 cultural and artistic societies, with 1,500 members, there are sections for solo singing and choirs, music, folk dancing, literature and drama in the Albanian, Turkish and Romany languages.

In Croatia there is a professional Italian theatre in Rijeka, and there are also various forms of cultural amateurism by the Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian and Ukrainian minorities. Various forms of public performances within the individual nationalities have a long tradition, such as harvest festivities, reviews, festivals, etc. Certain forms of joint presentation of folk arts and traditions of Yugoslav importance are also popular (Lipovije Encounters, Vinkovac Autumns).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are three Ukrainian, two Czech, one Italian and one Romany society, and a society in Sarajevo has an Albanian section.

In Serbia proper, amateur theatricals are very popular in the communes in south-eastern Serbia inhabited by Albanians and Bulgarians. There are drama, choir, music, folk dancing and other sections.

There are many public and school libraries in areas settled by nationalities. For many years now there has been a systematic policy of expanding their book fund with publications in minority languages, published locally as well as imported. This activity is also pursued by the public libraries in industrial centres and in communities with large numbers of minorities. The results to date are not entirely satisfactory, but a good start has been made in this direction.

In the last 20 years, more and more films have been shown with Albanian and Hungarian subtitles. There are also more films being made on themes from the lives of the nationalities. Some have even been shot in the vernacular. TV series in minority languages are also being produced and are subtitled for the general Yugoslav public.

V. See Supra (IV)

VI. Guarantee of the equal rights of the national minorities in the sociopolitical system

Members of the nationalities would not regard Yugoslavia as their own State and country if they did not have an equal position and active part to play in decision-making on all public affairs in government and self-management. Accordingly, from the very first days of new Yugoslavia, nationalities have been able to participate in decision-making on public affairs directly and through their representatives in the organs of government and worker self-management, not only regarding matters concerning their special status as members of national minorities but on all questions affecting society's progress as a whole.

Efforts to encourage the participation of members of minority groups in the sociopolitical system have followed several lines. In the first place, representatives of the nationalities have been urged to take an active part in all aspects of public life, as citizens and voters, and as representatives of government and self-management, and they have also taken their seats in the organs of sociopolitical organizations. They are not just token members in these bodies, for they are encouraged to make their own creative contribution to formulating policy. A second priority has been to have members of majority

nations raise issues affecting the equal rights of the nationalities, so that the latter would not feel as though they had to fight alone for their own special interests and needs. It has also been made possible for members of nationalities to take an equal part in the work of these organs by reading the materials and participating in debates in their own languages; this facility has made it much easier for them to make their own contribution to discussions and has given them true equality in these bodies. Professionals from the ranks of the national minorities have been trained to work in government agencies, administration and judiciary, and in organs of self-managing organizations and self-management interest communities, and other officials of these bodies are being taught proficiency in the languages of the nationalities.

(a) The territorial political organization of communes carried out between 1952 and 1963 did much to bring the political organizations of the communes, as the fundamental territorial sociopolitical units, into line with national composition of their population. Citizens have the constitutional right to decide directly on the formation of local communities and may even choose the commune to which they will belong. This policy has made possible the grouping of neighbourhoods so as to create nationally homogeneous communes, to the extent that this is possible in nationally mixed areas, and especially of homogeneous local communities. Thanks to such a policy, as long as 25 years ago, about three quarters of the members of nationalities were included in communes in which they made up the majority of the population or at least formed compact groups within local communities which could guarantee their constitutional rights.

According to the 1981 population census, members of national minorities live in compact groups in more than 100 communes in Yugoslavia. They make up the majority of the population in 42 communes (in 9 communes in Vojvodina, in 21 in Kosovo, in 4 in Serbia, in 5 in Macedonia, and in 1 in Montenegro). About 1,724,000 members of nationalities live in these 42 communes, or 69 per cent of the total number in Yugoslavia (it should be noted that in the majority of such communes the Albanians account for the largest numbers, although in 2, Bulgarians form a majority, Hungarians in 7, Slovaks in 2, and in the rest Albanians and Turks or Hungarians and Slovaks, etc. together form the majority).

(b) The next important consideration is election of representatives from the nationalities to organs of government and self-management in organizations of associated labour and sociopolitical organizations, self-management interest communities and sociopolitical communities. The democratic procedure of choosing candidates and voting by secret ballot gives members of nationalities the opportunity of putting forward and electing their own representatives. However, in nationally mixed communities, all this is not a sufficient guarantee, especially if there are several candidates on the ballot. Therefore, other measures have been introduced.

By way of illustration, we shall cite some figures of the percentages of members of nationalities in assemblies and in other bodies of communes and republics (1982-1986 term of office):

In the Republic of Serbia, members of nationalities were to be found in large numbers in the organs of government and self-management. In the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, of 340 delegates there were 29 Albanians or 8.6 per cent; 15 Hungarians or 4.4 per cent; 3 Slovaks or 0.9 per cent; 2 Romanians, 2 Ruthenians and 2 Turks or 0.6 per cent, and 1 Bulgarian or 0.3 per cent. In the communal assemblies in Serbia proper there were 0.9 per cent Albanians and 1.4 per cent Bulgarians, while in the assemblies of communities of communes these percentages were 1.0 and 1.7 respectively. The situation was much more favourable in the aforementioned 7 communes where Albanians and Bulgarians live in compact groups. Members of these two minorities held many high offices in the communes, organizations of associated labour and sociopolitical organizations there.

In the AP of Kosovo, members of nationalities, above all Albanians, formed the overwhelming majority in all the communal assemblies and in the provincial assembly, as well as in other self-management organs and bodies. Of the 2,484 delegates in communal assemblies, 74.0 per cent were Albanians, 18 per cent were Serbians and Montenegrins, and 0.7 per cent were Turks. Of the 190 delegates to the Assembly of Kosovo, there were 138 Albanians or 72.6 per cent, 38 Serbs or Montenegrins or 20 per cent, 8 Bosnian Muslim or 4.2 per cent, 3 Turks or 1.6 per cent, and 2 Romanies or 1.1 per cent.

In the AP of Vojvodina in 1983 there were 10,197 delegations with 92,981 members. They included: 20.2 per cent Hungarians, 3.2 per cent Slovaks, 2.1 per cent Romanians, and 1.1 per cent Ruthenians. Of the 5,410 delegates to communal assemblies, 18.9 per cent were Hungarians, 3.8 per cent were Slovaks, 2.2 per cent were Romanians, and 0.7 per cent were Ruthenians. In the Assembly of Vojvodina, 19.2 per cent of delegates were Hungarians, 5.3 per cent Slovaks, 2.9 per cent Romanians, and 1.2 per cent Ruthenians. The composition of delegates to the assemblies of self-management interest communities in the communes was even more favourable.

In the Republic of Macedonia, of the 3,860 delegates in communal assemblies, there were 296 Albanians (7.7 per cent), 91 Turks (2.4 per cent), 26 Romanies (0.7 per cent), 1 Bulgarian and 1 Czech. In the Assembly of Macedonia, there were 20 Albanians (9.6 per cent), 6 Turks (3.6 per cent), and 1 Romany among its 250 delegates. The Presidency of Macedonia had 1 Albanian and 1 Turk among its 9 members, and there were 2 Albanians and 1 Turk serving on the Executive Council of the Assembly. Members of the nationalities were present in somewhat smaller numbers in the organs of communal and republican self-management interest communities.

In the Republic of Croatia, of the 11,063 delegates to communal assemblies, 57 were Hungarians (0.6 per cent), 47 were Czechs (0.4 per cent), 42 were Italians (0.4 per cent), 18 were Slovaks (0.2 per cent), 7 were Ruthenians and Ukranians (0.1 per cent), and there are 2 Albanians, 2 Bulgarians and 2 Romanies. The Assembly of the Republic had 2 Czechs, 1 Italian and 1 Hungarian.

In the communal assemblies in the Republic of Montenegro, there were 69 Albanians (3.9 per cent) among the 1,754 delegates. The Assembly of the Republic had 7 Albanians (4.2 per cent) among its 165 delegates.

In the Republic of Slovenia, of the 1,532 delegates to communal assemblies, 10 were Italians (0.7 per cent) and 6 were Hungarians (0.4 per cent). Of the 50 permanent delegates to the Assembly of Slovenia (the majority of delegates changed as they were drawn from the delegations of the communes according to the items on the agenda), 1 was an Italian and 1 a Hungarian.

In the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were 9 Albanians, 6 Hungarians, 3 Czechs, 3 Slovaks, 2 Bulgarians, 1 Italian and 1 Romany among the 10,911 delegates to the communal assemblies.

The majority of delegates belonging to nationalities were to be found in the communal assemblies of areas where these nationalities are predominantly settled.

VII. The improvement of living and working conditions and promotion of the equal rights of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia

In pre-war Yugoslavia, the national minorities were at different levels of social development, just like the peoples of Yugoslavia. Pre-war Yugoslavia's overall socio-economic and cultural development was very slow. It was one of the least developed countries of Europe, with a poorly developed economy, industry and transport, predominantly subsistence agricultural production, low employment and productivity, a low level of literacy and education, and a low standard of living.

Even in these conditions, however, there were considerable differences between various regions and social strata between the town and countryside, and even between members of different nationalities.

The country's fate was shared by its national minorities.

The level of socio-economic and educational and cultural development of national minorities in pre-war Yugoslavia depended on three essential elements: (a) on the level of economic and general social development of the area in which they lived and whose destiny they generally shared; (b) on the level of the social development of the nations to which they belonged; and (c) on the political status of a given minority, which frequently depended on changes in the external and internal policies of the ruling classes in Yugoslavia.

The hardest economic and political conditions were borne by the Albanian, Turkish and Bulgarian minorities. The southern areas in which they lived were completely neglected in economic development, and their population was generally engaged in cottage industry or small artisanship, almost completely illiterate (except for the Bulgarians), without schools in their languages, and suffering extreme poverty.

These disparate levels of development were characteristic of the minorities at the time of the country's liberation and the creation of new Yugoslavia in 1945. Therefore, to obtain proper insight into their development in new Yugoslavia and their present-day social position, it is

necessary to bear in mind the specific level of development of different areas and the overall development of Yugoslavia, as well as the levels of the minorities within this context and in particular Yugoslavia's policy on its national minorities. The question is a highly complicated one.

(a) Differences in initial levels of economic development

The improvement of the material conditions of life and work for the minorties was not even, in view of the different initial levels of their development.

The members of the Czech, Italian, Hungarian and even Slovak, Ruthenian and Ukrainian national minorities generally live in economically and socially developed areas, many of them in towns. The overall 40-year-long development of these areas considerably contributed to their own development.

The members of the Albanian, partly of the Bulgarian and even the Romanian and Turkish nationalities live for the most part in economically undeveloped areas. On the whole, they share the fate of the nations of Yugoslavia in these areas, but some of them (Bulgarians, Romanians and particularly Albanians) are even in these conditions at a lower level of development, because they mainly come from a rural background.

(b) The policy of accelerated development of economically underdeveloped republics and provinces, including the areas inhabited by national minorities

The uneven development of some regions in Yugoslavia, which has a national component in view of the multinational composition of the population, faced the political leaders of new Yugoslavia with the task of establishing a policy that would help to overcome the inherited situation in the interest of all, developed and underdeveloped alike. It is principally in the general economic interest of the country to balance the development of the economy as a whole, but it is also a question of strengthening the unity of the nations and nationalities on the principles of solidarity and strengthening the material prerequisites for their equality.

At first, this policy favoured the rapid development of the less developed geographical areas of Yugoslavia and then also of the various less developed nations of Yugoslavia and their republics, but it was soon realized that it had to be extended to the backward areas inhabited by some of the national minorities, particularly by the largest and most backward group - the Albanians.

The Constitution of 1963 made this policy one of the constitutional principles: (a) a special federal fund was set up for financing the accelerated development of underdeveloped areas, the law and the five-year plan of development were established which qualified republics and provinces as underdeveloped areas on the basis of fixed criteria; and (b) it was made obligatory on the federal government to assist the social services in underdeveloped areas through additional financing out of the budget.

The implementation of this policy contributed, directly and indirectly, to a faster improvement of material and general social living and working conditions of the members of nationalities, particularly in Macedonia and Kosovo, since they include 68.3 per cent of the total number of minority members in Yugoslavia, and together with the republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, account for more than 90 per cent of the total number of minority members in Yugoslavia living in economically underdeveloped areas. This particularly applies to Kosovo, which was the most backward region in all respects.

(c) Implementation of the policy of accelerated development of Kosovo

The accelerated development of Kosovo as the least developed area of Yugoslavia, which is predominantly inhabited by a national minority, is of exceptional significance for the overall development of Yugoslavia and for the creation of the material prerequisites for equality between nations and nationalities and more particularly, for the advancement of the Albanian minority, the most numerous and least developed section in the country.

In pre-war Yugoslavia, too, Kosovo was one of the least developed areas. More than 80 per cent of the population lived from farming, which was at a very rudimentary level and predominantly subsistence (wooden ploughs and draught animals were the basic implements of labour, and there were no surpluses for the market).

For this reason, one of the earliest economic measures of new Yugoslavia following the country's liberation in 1945 was a new agrarian reform, designed to correct previous mistakes. On the basis of the law on agrarian reform and colonization carried out in 1945 and 1946, there was a redistribution of land in favour of the minorities.

Minorities taken by the federal government and the Republic of Serbia to accelerate the economic development of Kosovo:

The most significant turn in the economic development of Kosovo was socialization of the means of production and the accelerated development of new, notably industrial facilities, which predominantly employed the most numerous but poorest ethnic Albanian population. Kosovo's development was sustained by investments from the developed republics and Vojvodina through the General Investment Fund of the federation, of 1957, as well as the Federal Fund for the accelerated development of the economically underdeveloped republics and autonomous provinces (hereinafter: the Fund), of 1965.

In the 1951-1984 period, about 137.8 billion dinars (at current prices) were invested in Kosovo's economic development, and under the plan for 1985, a further 38.4 billion dinars were invested. Kosovo also obtained special supplementary financing for accelerated economic development in 1981-1985 amounting to 22.6 billion dinars (the credits for working capital, postponement of credit repayments to the Fund, foreign exchange quotas). In the 1981-1985 period alone, Kosovo was granted $348 million out of the loan advanced by the World Bank (41.4 per cent of the total earmarked for the underdeveloped areas and 20.7 per cent of the total loan obtained by Yugoslavia). In the past year or so, despite the difficult economic

situations prevailing in Yugoslavia and Serbia, Kosovo has received 1.2 million dollars in aid on a daily basis, excluding other expenditures of the Federal State.

The results achieved in the economic development of Kosovo are imposing, despite numerous difficulties, weaknesses and shortcomings. Through an intensive development of material productive forces and employment, attended by a number of corollary factors, Kosovo's lagging behind Yugoslavia's average was reduced to about 15 years, and behind the developed parts of the country to about 20 years, which is a notable success.

Such major changes in the economy brought about corresponding changes in the structure of the population and labour force. The number of people employed in non-agricultural activities grew considerably - from 38,000 in 1952 to 206,000 in 1984, which is about 5.5 times (the greatest increase in Yugoslavia). The participation of industrial workers within the total labour force increased to 35 per cent and is close to the average for Yugoslavia.

However, serious problems, objective difficulties and subjective weaknesses and shortcomings which are slowing down the general development of Kosovo are still present.

The excessive birth rate and natural increment of the Albanian population in Kosovo tend to accelerate the growth of the total and particularly of the work-age population, for whom jobs have to be found. Kosovo's economy has no such possibilities, and even investments from the whole of Yugoslavia cannot provide a sufficient number of new jobs. Such a population increase offsets the beneficial effect of all investments and slows down the volume and rate of development. There were in Kosovo 68 inhabitants per one square kilometre in 1968, and 146 in 1981 (the same figures for Yugoslavia were 62 and 38).

Kosovo's territory accounts for 4.2 per cent of the territory of Yugoslavia, and its population for 7 per cent. The average annual increment per 1,000 inhabitants was 24 in Kosovo, and about 9 in Yugoslavia. The number of inhabitants in Yugoslavia increased by 42 per cent, and in Kosovo by more than 118 per cent.

Supplementary financing of the social and public services in Kosovo:

This type of assistance has also been given to Kosovo. In contrast to the underdeveloped republics, Kosovo has been given subsidies for this purpose since 1951. This type of assistance has taken two forms: (a) federal budget allocations, and (b) the earmarking for Kosovo's use of obligatory contributions paid into the federal budget.

These subsidies accounted for about 90 per cent of total resources available to Kosovo for financing these services and government administration. In short, it has been the entire country of Yugoslavia which has been paying for their expansion and operation.

(d) The policy of accelerated development of communes and settlements in republics and provinces inhabited by national minorities

In the last two to three decades, all the republics and both provinces have begun pursuing a policy of accelerated development of their own underdeveloped regions. Some of them have adopted programmes of regional development, while others have concentrated on their underdeveloped communes. This policy also covers underdeveloped regions and communes inhabited by nationalities, especially communes in mountainous and border areas, which have not yet entered the mainstream of economic and social development In some republics additonal programmes have been devised to promote the development of underdeveloped settlements and local communities located within developed communes if they are inhabited by members of national minorities.

VIII. See supra 7.

IX. See supra 7.

X. See supra 3.

XI. No information available.

XII. There are no legal, administrative or other restrictions for persons belonging to minorities or their institutions to contact and cooperate, mostly in cultural matters, with related groups in other countries, especially the neighbouring countries. The State, through bilateral agreements with some States encourages such contacts, exchange of educational and cultural materials, visits, etc.

XIII. Yugoslavia is a country of emigration.

1/ This dual status of the provinces - in other words, that they are at one and the same time constitutive units of the federation and component autonomous parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia - has been subjected to criticism and review, and indeed this is a subject which has given rise to considerable controversy in recent years, as part of the public debate on amending the Constitution. In practice this dual status has proven to be self-contradictory, and its effects have been further exacerbated by certain actions on the part of officials in the provinces (as will be discussed presently).

2/ This legal premise favouring the province, given the lack of precise definition of the competencies of the republican government of Serbia in matters of common interest, has in practice prevented it from performing some of its functions throughout the entire territory of the republic. This matter is now under review and is due to be rectified in the constitutional amendments.

3/ For instance, in the Law on the election and recall of delegates to the Federal Chamber, a procedure was envisaged for ensuring the proper national and other composition of delegates by authorizing the republican or provincial electoral conferences to draw up the lists of candidates by sections or in some other suitable manner (art. 40).

Annex 1

ANNEX CONCERNING THE RESPECT OF MINORITY RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

The 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia devoted particular attention to the equality of nations and nationalities (minorities) which resulted in a series of provisions designed to ensure this equality.

A special chapter in the Constitution (chap. VII) dealt with ways to achieve the equality of nations and nationalities. It proclaimed equality of nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and granted each nationality the right to express their ethnic origin and culture by:

(1) freely using their language and alphabet;

(2) developing their culture; and

(3) establishing organizations for that purpose and enjoying other rights established by the Constitution (art. 145, Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia).

In order to provide for the equality of nations and nationalities, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia proclaimed equality of the languages and alphabets of nations and nationalities as a general principle of equality, particularly emphasizing the right of every member of a minority to use his language and alphabet: in the exercise of his rights and duties, and in proceedings before government bodies and organizations performing public functions, and is entitled to an education in his language at schools and in other educational institutions in accordance with the constitution and the law.

The provisions aimed at ensuring the enjoyment of the right of nationalities to use their language and alphabet are contained in the part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia related to constitutionality and legality. These provisions also determine the language in which republican laws and other regulations and general enactments will be published, as well as that of the regulations and other general enactments of the bodies in the communes and autonomous provinces (Serbo-Croat language). In addition, these constitutional provisions stipulate that the laws and other regulations and general enactments of the bodies in autonomous provinces can also be published in the language of a nationality, specified in the provincial constitution concerned.

The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia stipulates that, in a procedure before a court or other government body, an organization of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities which decide in the exercise of their public functions on the rights and duties of the citizen, everyone shall be entitled to use his language and to be advised of the facts relevant to the procedure in his language, with a view to ensuring equal rights of all before the constitution and the law.

Amendment 27 to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia introduced the provisions concerning the official use of the Serbo-Croat language and the languages of nationalities; consequently it was provided that in those areas of the Socialist Republic of Serbia where nationalities live, the Serbo-Croat language and its alphabets are in equal official and public use as the languages of the respective nationalities and their alphabets, as specified in the constitution and the law. It was envisaged, at the same time, that the languages of nationalities which are in official and public use on the territories of the autonomous provinces should be determined by the provincial constitution, in accordance with the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It was also provided that the autonomous provinces should ensure the equality of the languages and alphabets of nationalities and that of the Serbo-Croat language and its scripts.

The new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia of September 1990 proceeds from the fact that the Republic of Serbia is a democratic State of all the citizens living in it and stipulates:

- that in those parts of the territory of the Republic of Serbia inhabited by nationalities the languages and scripts of nationalities are also in official use in a manner prescibed by law (art. 8);

- that all the citizens have equal rights and duties, and enjoy equal protection before Government and other bodies irrespective of their race, sex, birth, language and national origin (art. 13);

- that members of other nations and nationalities are entitled to an education in their language, in conformity with the law (art. 32);

- that citizens are entitled to freedom of expression of their national origin and culture, and freedom of use of their language and script (art. 49);

- that everyone has the right to use his language in a procedure before a court or other government bodies and organizations which, in discharge of their public functions, decide on his rights and duties and to be advised of the relevant facts in this procedure in his language (art. 123).

The Constitutional Act to implement the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia stipulates that the law on the official use of the Serbo-Croat language and its scripts and on the official use of the languages of nationalities will regulate the use of nationality languages in the Republic of Serbia.

In addition to these rights, the laws of the Republic of Serbia, in accordance with the Constitution, provide for many other rights of members of nationalities, such as the right to education up to PhD level in own language; equal treatment in the criminal and any other procedure; the right to a full health care; the right to cultural and any other development; the right to equal employment opportunities; the right to radio, television and the press in own language, etc.

However, all this seems to be insufficient for the members of the Albanian nationality in the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija. The ethnic Albanians themselves fail to make use of these rights because they, for example, refuse to work together with Serbs and other nations in enterprises and institutions or to be treated by Serbian physicians. They go to separate theatres, cafes, etc. Moreover, for a number of years they have been exerting pressure on the Serbs and Montenegrins (through violence, rape, murder, stealing of property, disfiguring of gravestones and desecration of orthodox churches), resulting in emigration of several hundred thousand Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija.

The Albanians want Kosovo to be a separate republic in the framework of Yugoslavia with the ultimate goal of secession from Yugoslavia and accession to Albania. For this reason, a group of Kosovo assemblymen belonging to Albanian nationality attempted, on 2 July 1990, to adopt a declaration proclaiming Kosovo a federal unit, i.e. a Republic. This was the first step towards secession from the Republic of Serbia and from Yugoslavia.

Immediately after that, the Government and the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia evaluated the situation in Kosovo and recommended to the Assembly of the Republic to adopt a Law on the Termination of the Work of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo and its Executive Council. This Law was passed on 5 July 1990 since the adoption of the so-called Declaration of Independence of Kosovo (2 July 1990) by the Albanian members of the provincial Parliament, supported by the Albanian members of the provincial Government and some Albanian official representatives at the level of the Republic and the Federation, was a blatant act of secession from Serbia. It represented: (a) an abuse of the minority rights envisaged under the Constitution of Serbia and CSCE and other international documents; (b) violation of the provisions of CSCE documents obliging national minorities to be loyal to the country in which they live and to strictly respect its territorial integrity; (c) violation of the principles of the rule of law as a result of a direct threat to the existing constitutional order of Serbia and paralysis of its functions. This rendered more difficult the enjoyment of human rights by members of the Albanian minority, because absolute rule of law is a prerequisite for their unimpeded realization.

Due to serious abuses of minority rights and an immediate threat to the territorial integrity of the republic, its legitimate authorities were forced to resort to some provisional defence measures, which were necessary, such as termination of the provincial Assembly, etc. so as to prevent the proclaimed secession from being carried out and to establish the rule of law as a precondition for full protection, enjoyment and promotion of the human rights of all people in Kosovo.

Despite overt abuses of minority rights by the Albanian separatist movement in Kosovo and encroachment upon the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia, Yugoslavia and Serbia are determined to seek a just and lasting solution to the situation in Kosovo in a democratic political context implying full application of the rule of law. The search of a democratic solution for Kosovo and its problems makes it incumbent also upon the so-called Kosovo alternative to contribute to that end. And all the more so, since the new Constitution of Serbia does not bring into question the

territorial and cultural autonomy of the Kosovo Province. It only envisages that this Province be deprived of attributes of a State which are not, according to CSCE documents and other relevant international documents, granted to any national minority. Abuse of the democratic processes, through glorification of national aspects at the expense of political aspects, leads to nationalist extremism and homogenization as a kind of totalitarianism, which in turn endangers the realization of minority rights, and objectively threatens the democratic option for overcoming the current situation.

As urged in paragraph 36, subparagraph 2 of the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia, is in favour of all outstanding issues being "resolved through dialogue based on the principles of the rule of law". This implicitly implies abandoning of any idea of separatism on the part of the members of the Albanian minority and recognition of the Republic of Serbia and its Constitution as well as compliance with its laws.

The CSCE documents and all relevant documents of the United Nations relating to the human rights of persons belonging to national minorities, underline very clearly and precisely that in the exercise of their minority rights, these persons must remain loyal to the State in which they live and respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that State.